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Some features of the language of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* *

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Introduction

It was really my good fortune that I could read the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* (KP), which is now being kept in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, with Dr. M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya during her stay at the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology (IRIAB), Soka University in the winter of 2001. She had brought, from Russia, photographs of the manuscript as well as her new transliteration, being prepared for publication as the fifth volume of the *Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica* monograph series of IRIAB. In the process of checking this and reading the text several times with her and my colleagues, I realized that there were still several peculiar forms and features which F. Edgerton had not noted in his *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* (BHSG, BHSD), though the KP is referred to in numerous places throughout this monumental work. Though many such text-critical problems have been already pointed out, especially by Friedrich Weller —— whose excellent, fully-annotated German translation of the KP has been my indispensable guide to reading this rather difficult and partially corrupted text —— and by Bhikkhu Pāsādika, we may reconsider these problems anew, based on the new transliteration of the KP as well as the knowledge of Middle Indic which has greatly grown since their time.

    This paper consists of six parts: I. Orthography; II. Phonology; III. Syntax; IV. Morphology; V. Some Noteworthy Words; VI. Obscure Words. As most of the instances of non-Sanskritic phonology, morphology as well as Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit words, found in the KP, have been cited and analysed already in the BHSG and BHSD, I shall

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confine myself here mainly to forms and words which are not dealt with in the above two books.

In this paper, readings of the KP are cited from Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2002. Also, I follow, in principle, the conventions used there[1].

I. Orthography
§ 1. Visarga (*ḥ*) / "double-dotted Daṇḍa" (:)

As Weller has pointed out[2], the Visarga sign was also frequently used as a kind of punctuation mark —— we may call it "Visarga-Daṇḍa" or "double-dotted Daṇḍa"—— in this manuscript.

While transcribing the above, we had a great deal of difficulty in choosing between these two functions of the sign[3], which, in many of the places, can only be judged from the context in the KP. Yet, there are still some cases in which we cannot say which of the two was originally meant.

Also, we may notice that the scribe did not go to the trouble of writing a punctuation mark when a Visarga sign had been written already at the end of a phrase or a sentence. This may mean that such a sign was also used for both functions, namely as a punctuation mark (:) and as a Visarga (*ḥ*). The following instance illustrates this usage.

18b3f. *ātmaskhalitesu doṣadarśanatayā · paraskhalitesv aruṣṭāpatticodanatayā · [s](a)rvairyāpatheṣu bodhicittaparikarmatayā · vipākāpratikāmkṣiṇa tyāgaḥ sarvabhavagatyupapa(ttya)niḥśritaṃ śīlam* sarvasatveṣu apratihatā kṣāṃtiḥ sarvakuśalamūlasamādā[n]a[n]āya vīryaṃ · .... satkṛtya dharmaśravaṇam · satkṛtyāraṇyavāsaḥ sarvalokavicitrikeṣu anabhiratiḥ (ku?)dṛṣṭivigataṃ · hīnayānaspṛhaṇatā · ..... jñānaprati[sa]raṇatā · pratipattivipratipattisthitānā satvānām anutsargaḥ ekāṃśavacanatā · satyagurukatā ·*

As my colleague, N. Kudo, is now in the process of preparing a brief article dealing with this topic, by collecting more instances in the KP, I shall confine myself to pointing

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out the above-mentioned observations.

§ 2. Omission of anusvāra and "pseudo-anusvāra"

Like in Kharoṣṭhī documents[4] as well as in Nepalese manuscripts[5], the usage of anusvāra in the KP is rather erratic, sometimes omitted when it is etymologically needed or at other times, written in when it is not etymologically justified.

§ 2.1. Omission of anusvāra

There are dozens of such cases, for instance: 2a5. *vic(ch)a<ṃ>dayan[t]o*; 3a5. *apratikā<ṃ>kṣamāṇo*; 24b5. *ida<ṃ>*; 56b5. *aśva<ṃ>*; 61a1. *-saṃpa<ṃ>no*; 61b2~3. *katha<ṃ> mām*[6]; 65b4. *pura<ṃ>* (< Skt. *purā*); 71a5, 71b5, 72b4. *avocatā<ṃ>*; 71b1. *āvā<ṃ>*; 76b2. *eva<ṃ>manasīkāreṇa*; 73b4. *avoca<ṃ> na*.

Some peculiar grammatical forms, found in the KP, are to be ascribed to this erratic omission of anusvāra. For example, the accusative plural masculine in *-ā*, *-ās*, *-āś*[7] could be merely scribal errors for *-āṃ*, *-āṃs*, *-āṃś*.[8] Similarly, the genitive plural *-ānā<ṃ>* (see § 9.17); the genitive plural *-ntā<ṃ>* (§ 15.4); the locative singular feminine *tasyā<ṃ>* (§ 16.1); the genitive plural masculine *teṣā<ṃ>* (§ 16.3); the accusative plural masculine *etā<ṃ>* (§ 16.4); the genitive plural masculine *eṣā<ṃ>* (§ 16.10); the imperative 3rd singular middle *-tā<ṃ>* (§ 18.1); the infinitive *-tu<ṃ>* (§ 22.1).

§ 2.2. "Pseudo-anusvāra"

Among several examples of "pseudo-anusvāras" are: 23b3. *śīla{ṃ}śrrutajñāna susthito*; 76a2. *abhiruhya{ṃ}* (gerund; see § 21.2). The anusvāra is also used superfluously before a nasal consonant, as in, 55a3. *ha{ṃ}nyaṃte*; H/M.a1. *bahū{ṃ}n*; H/M.b7. *-pa{ṃ}nsanā*; Turfan MS.a2. *Sama{ṃ}n[tā]* ... ; Turfan MS.b3. *[kṣā]{ṃ}nti-* etc. However, the latter specimens may reflect the actual pronunciation of the scribe, as the writing of *ṃn* seems to have further resulted in the peculiar form of *nn* for a single *n* (see §

4.7).

§ 3. Confusion resulting from similarities of letters

§ 3.1. *a / sŭ*[9]

18b1. *anṛtavākyatā* (∈ *sūnṛta°*); 19b4. *atyanta-amitratāyā* (∈ *°-sumitratāyā*); 19b5. *anṛtā* (∈ *sūnṛtā*); 24b3. *suprahīṇe* (∈ *aprahīṇe*); 27b4. *sucokṣo* (∈ *acokṣo*)

§ 3.2. *ac / śc*

74b3. *tāvaścireṇa* (∈ *tāvaccireṇa*)

§ 3.3. *t / n* (common[10])

9b5. *to* (∈ *no*)

§ 3.4. *t* / n** (these two signs are difficult to discern)

21b5. *anaṃtāt** (∈ *anaṃtān**)

§ 3.5. *t / bh* (common)

20b5. *sugatoraseti* (∈ *sugatorasebhi*); 64a3. *bhi* (∈ *ti*)

§ 3.6. *tt / nt*

13b3. *apramantā* (∈ *apramattā*)

§ 3.7. *db / nb*

22b1. *kṣetrād buddhāna* (∈ *°ān bu°*)

§ 3.8. *dy / ry*

74a3. *punad yuṣme* (∈ *°ar yu°*)

§ 3.9. *n* / m**

21b4. *auṣadhidhānyajātām** (∈ *°jātān**)

§ 3.10. Non-etymological superscript *r*[11]

53a1, 3, 62b4. *{r}na*; 27b4. *{r}yathā*; 7b3, 8a4, 75b1. *{r}yad*.

§ 3.11. *ṣṭ / ṣv*

73a3. *kārṣva* (∈ *kārṣṭa*); 73a4. *parijñāsiṣva* (∈ *parijñāsiṣṭa*)

II. Phonology

§ 4. Confusion of Consonants

§ 4.1. *k / g*

13b1. *te mitra mūlaṃ sugatasya vuktāḥ* (vs)

This *sugata~* is probably a corruption of *sukata~* ([= Pā.] < *sukṛta~*)

§ 4.2. *c / ch*

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[9] These signs are very similar; cf. Weller p. 85, fn. 5.; p. 90, fn. 19, p. 94, fn. 12. The confusion *a / su* is found also in other texts. The reading *sulaṃkṛtikā* in the following verse must be a scribal error for *alaṃkṛtikā*: LV. 322.5. *prekṣasi tāva imā marukanya sulaṃkṛtikā* (vs) (but cf. BHSG §4.11). Also, SP(KN).12.14. *suvismayantān* / most of MSS. *avis°*; SP(KN).287.1. *avarṇa* / SP(Pk). *suvarṇṇa*.

[10] Cf. Brough 1954: 359f. = 1996: 138f.

[11] In Gāndhārī, non-historic subscript *r* is occasionally used to indicate a geminate consonant (Cf. Salomon 1999: 122-3; Allon/Salomon 2000: 267).

2a4. *cchā* (∈ *ca*); 18b2. *aparicinna-* (∈ *aparicchinna-*)

§ 4.3. *t / tt*

1b3. *anutarasyāṃ* (∈ *anuttarasyāṃ*); 19b5. *upātabhāre* (∈ *utpātta°*); H/M.b7. *citaṃ na citaprajñapti* (∈ *cittaṃ na cittap°*)

19b3. *sarvajñajñānôttaraṇāya* (∈ *°otaraṇāya* < [m.c.] *avatāraṇa~*)[12]; H/M.a1. *tte* (∈ *te*); H/M.a2. *cikitsittu* (∈ *cikitsituṃ*); H/M.a3. *śruttaṃ bhavatt(i)* (∈ *śrutaṃ bhavati*); H/M.b3. +*manvāgatto* (∈ *samanvāgato*); H/M.b4. *dhuttaguṇān* (∈ *dhutaguṇān*)

§ 4.4. *t / d*

10b2. *sapradeśo* (a corruption of BHS. *sapratīśa*; cf. Pā. *sappadīsa*); 14b4. *sata* (a corruption of *sada* < [m.c.] *sadā*)

§ 4.5. *th / d*

8a1. *matha* (∈ *mada*)

§ 4.6. *d / dh*

9a1. *vidadīya* (∈ *vidadhīya*); 14b5. *-nidāna-* (∈ *-nidhāna-*)
Turfan MS.b3. *dhāna-* (∈ *dāna-*); Turfan MS.b4. *-dhārusa[m](u)dhā[n]ītā* (∈ *-dārusamudānitā*)

§ 4.7. *n / ṃn*; *n / nn*

The instances of *n / ṃn* are listed in § 2.2.

14a2. *nn' eva* (∈ *n' eva*); 23a4. *satvānna* (∈ *satvāna*); 66a4. *dṛṣṭvānna* (∈ *dṛṣṭvāna*); 76a3. *sā nnor* (∈ *sā nor*); 76a4. *aṃtareṇa nnaur* (∈ *aṃtareṇa naur*); H/M.a1. *uhyamānne* (∈ *uhyamāne*); H/M.a3. *śrutenna* (∈ *śrutena*); H/M.b7. *śīlamannyanā* (∈ *śīlamanyanā*) etc.

§ 4.8. *b / bh*

46a1. *abhisaṃbotsyate* (∈ *abhisaṃbhotsyate*); 79b2. *birdeya* (∈ *bhindeya*[13])

§ 4.9. *rg / rgh*

18a4. *argāmi* (∈ *arghāmi*)

§ 4.10. *ṣṭ / ṣṭh*

H/M.a6. *śreṣṭi-* (∈ *śreṣṭhi-*)

§ 5. Vowels

§ 5.1. *e* ∈ *ī* (Cf. BHSG §3.59)

77a2. *kīdṛśe dharmanau* (∈ *kīdṛśī dharmanau*[14] [nom. sg. fem.])

§ 5.2. *ai* by Hypersanskritism for *e*[15] (Cf. BHSG §3.69)

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[12] Cf. BHSD, s.v. *uttarati* (< *otarati* < *avatarati*).

[13] Cf. 80a3. *bhidya* (athematic optative; cf. BHSG § 29.42).

[14] Cf. Turfan MS.b2. /// *śī dharmanāvā*.

[15] There are many instances of the Middle Indic development *ai* > *e* in the KP; e.g. 29b3. *nerātmya~* (< *nairātmya~*).

6a2. *tatraidam* (∈ *tatredam*); 7b4. *sarvasatvaiṣu* (∈ *sarvasatveṣu*); 14a2. *guṇaibhir* (∈ *guṇebhir*); 45a3. *śraddadhatai* (∈ *śraddadhate*); 46a4. *krriyamāṇair* (∈ *krriyamāṇe*[16]); 55b5. *ekai* (∈ *eke*); 69a3. *mamaitīha* (∈ *mamêtîha* [< *mama iti iha*]); H/M.a1, 3, 4. *klaiśa-* (∈ *kleśa-*).

§ 5.3. *au* by Hypersanskritism for *o*[17]

1b5. *agaura(v)au* (∈ *agauravo*); 2a5. *karau[t]i* (∈ *karoti*); 2a5. *k[ṣ]ipan[t]au* (∈ *kṣipanto*); 2b1. *kusīdau* (∈ *kusīdo*); 2b2. *caturau* (∈ *caturo*); 3a4. *sagoravau* (∈ *sagauravo*); 3b4. *bhauti* (∈ *bhoti*); 32a4. *kar[au]ti* (∈ *karoti*); 53b5f. *gautraṃ* (∈ *gotraṃ*); 59a2. *-dauṣa-* (∈ *-doṣa-*); 59a3. *dauṣā* (∈ *doṣā*); 62a4. *-pauṣa-* (∈ *-poṣa-*); 72a2. *pauṣau* (∈ *poṣo*); 60b4. *apariśuddhamanaskarmasamudācārau{ḥ}* (∈ °*samudācāro*)

§ 6. Saṃdhi consonants

§ 6.1. Saṃdhi consonant *n* (Cf. BHSG § 4.65)[18]

18b1.   *smitamukha[p]ūrvābh(i)bhāṣaṇatā-n-upādatt(e)[ṣ]u*[19]   *bhār(e)ṣv*

(a)v(i)ṣ(a)d(ā)[n](atayā) (prose)

§ 6.2. Saṃdhi consonant (or Gleitlaut) *y* (Cf. BHSG § 4.66)[20]

12b4. *ete kumitrā kusahāya-y-uktā* (vs)

III. Syntax

§ 7. Confusion of numbers (Cf. BHSG § 5.1f.; RgsGr § 5.1f.)

7a3. *sarve*(loc. sg.) *ca satveṣu* (loc. pl.) *ni* .. .. + + + (vs)[21]

79b2. *taṃ*(acc. sg.) *sarvalokadhātavaḥ*(acc. pl. ?) *sa[pt](aratna)paripūrṇaṃ*(acc. sg.) *kṛtvā* (prose)

80a3. *tān*(acc. pl.) *sarva{ṃ}lokadhātuḥ*(acc. sg.?) *saptaratnaparipūrṇaṃ*(acc. sg.) *kṛt[v](ā)* (prose)

However, these singular accusative forms could be the result of an influence of a set-phrase like *imaṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasraṃ lokadhātuṃ saptaratnaparipūrṇaṃ kṛtvā* (SP[KN]. 415.3f.); *trisāhasraṃ mahāsāhasraṃ lokadhātum saptaratnaparipūrṇaṃ kṛtvā* (PvsP IV. 156.20f.)

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[16] Cf. 46a5. *parikarma kkriyamāṇe*.

[17] There are many instances of the Middle Indic development *au* > *o* in the KP; e.g. 76a3. *nor* < *nauḥ*; 50b5. *aśuco* (< *aśucau*).

[18] Cf. also Norman 1969: 191 (ad Th. 406); RgsGr § 4.158; v. Hinüber 2001: § 273.

[19] Cf. Weller 82, fn. 12.

[20] Cf. also RgsGr § 4.159; Norman 1995: 213~214; v. Hinüber 2001: § 270.

[21] Or scribal error for *sarveṣu satveṣu* ?

§ 8. Case

§ 8.1. Nominative for locative?(BHSG.-)

> 44a5. *yāni himavantaḥ parvatarājā bhaiṣajyāni virohaṃti* (prose)

> 44b3. *himavaṃta ye parvatarāja bheṣajā rohaṃti* (vs)

It may be also possible to take the latter case as instances where stems in *-a* are used for locative.[22] Then, *himavantaḥ parvatarājā* in the prose is merely the result of an automatical backformation.

§ 8.2. Predicative instrumental (Cf. BHSG § 7.38)[23] and predicative ablative *-tas* (Cf. BHSG § 7.47)[24]

> 62b1~3. *dharmato (')pi tathāgataṃ na samanupaśyati. kaḥ punar vāda rūpakāyena?*
> *virāgato (')pi dharmaṃ nâbhiniviśate. kaḥ punar vāda rutavākpathodāharaṇena?*
> *asaṃskṛtam api câryasaṃghaṃ na vikalpayati. kaḥ punar vādo gaṇasaṃnipātataḥ?*
> [25](prose)

> 63b4. *virāgato dharmam avekṣate sadā /*[26] (vs)

§ 8.3. Dative *-āya* with ablative meaning? (BHSG.-)[27]

> 32b3~4. *na khalu punaḥ Kāśyapa pudgalabhāvavināśāya śunyatā* (prose)[28]

However, referring to BHSG § 8.42, Weller (101, fn. 2) takes it as instrumental form with feminine ending.

§ 8.4. The subjective genitive with a gerundive (BHSG.-)[29]

> 77a2. *tatra Samaṃtāloka kīdṛśe*[30] *dharmanau bodhisatvasya samudānayi(tavyā)?*[31]

IV. Morphology

§ 9. *a*-stems

§ 9.1. Stems in *-a* as locative (Cf. BHSG § 8.11)

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[22] Cf. §9.1; BHSG § 8.11.

[23] Cf. also Speijer § 237; Speyer § 117, 2; Renou Gr. § 219c; von Hinüber 1968: §143, fn. 4.

[24] Cf. also Wijesekera 1993: §133; von Hinüber 1968: §210; RgsGr § 7.30; Salomon 1983: 104~105.

[25] "He does not regard the *Tathāgata* as *Dharma*; how much less as material body. He does not insist that the *Dharma* is the absence of desire; how much less as words, discourses or utterances. He does not regard the *Saṅgha* of saints as 'uncaused'; how much less as an assembly (of monks)."

[26] "He always regards the *Dharma* as the absence of desire."

[27] We find an instance of the same usage of a dative in the so-called Kashgar manuscript of the SP: SP(O). 79b2f. *yāni tāni bhoḥ kumārakā yuṣmākaṃ krrīḍāpanakāni ramaṇīyakāny adbhutakāni yeṣām alābbāya yūyaṃ saṃtāpam āpadyatha*; SP(KN). 74.4. ... *yeṣām alābhāt saṃtapyatha*. The word *alābhāya* here means "because of not obtaining (them)", just the same as *alābhāt*. Cf. Oguibénine 1996: 159.

[28] "Again, *Kāśyapa*, emptiness is not the result of the destruction of the existence of individuality."

[29] Cf. Sen 1953 = 1995: § 66; von Hinüber 1968: § 236.

[30] Presumably a scribal error for *kīdṛśī*.

[31] Cf. Turfan MS.b2. *///śī dharmanāvā bodhisatvena samudānayitavyā.*

20a5. *satkṛtya vāso ca araṇya śānte //* (vs)

24b1~3. *yathāpi vṛkṣo viṭapasmi cchinno / virohate mūla dṛḍhe (')nupadrute // evaṃ upāyo (')pahato virohate / mūlasmi saṃyojana suprahīṇe //* (vs)

42b5~43a1. *ekāgracitte sthitabodhisatve / saṃsārasaṃsthe ghaṭamāna bodhaye //* (vs)

§ 9.2. Nominative singular masculine -*e* (Cf. BHSG § 8.25) Cf. § 16.11

20a1. *śruteṣv atṛpte* (vs)[32]

65a1. *yath(') eva vaidy(') auṣadha{r}bhrastrasaṃsthe /* (vs)

§ 9.3. Nominative-accusative singular neuter -*ā* (Cf. BHSG §8.38 [rare])

57a3. *galagraho ve yatha jīvitendriyā / nigṛhṇate nāsya sukhaṃ dadāti //* (vs)

81a4~5. *(e)[v]aṃ(rū)pā gauravā-m-[u]t[p]ādayitavyaḥ* (prose)

§ 9.4. Ablative singular neuter -*aṃ* (<[33] -*ā* < -*āt*) (BHSG -)[34] Cf. § 14.2

79a5. *ito Ratnakūṭaṃ sūtrāntarājñā-d-ekagāthām apy upadiśet** (prose)

§ 9.5. Nominative-accusative dual masculine -*o* (< -*au*) (Cf. BHSG § 8.74)[35]

57b4~5. *ākāśabodhe imi dve pratiṣṭhite / tau bodhisatvena vivarjanīyo //*(vs)

58a3. *dvāv imo Kāśyapa pravrajitasyâṃtarāyakaro dharmau. katamo dvau?* (prose)

58a5~58b1. *dvāv aṃtarāyo paripanthabhūto / tau bodhisatvena vivarjanīyo //* (vs)

58b2. *ime Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya malo* (prose)

58b3~4. *etau jinendreṇa hi deśito malo / tau bodhisatvena vivarjanīyo //* (vs)

58b4. *dvāv imo Kāśyapa pravrajitasyâśaniprapātau* (prose)

58b5. *ime Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya aśaniprapāto dharma(!)* (prose)

59a1. *aśaniprapāto dvāv etau varjanīyo kṛpātmakaiḥ* (read *nṛ°*) // (vs)

59a3. *viṣāgnitulyo dvāv etau vraṇau /* (vs)

59a4. *dvāv imau Kāśyapa pravrajitasya paridāgho. katamo dvau?* (prose)

59a5. *ime Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya paridāgho* (prose)

59b3~4. *ime Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya dīrghagailānyo*[36] (prose)

59b5~60a1. *dvāv imo Kāśyapa pravrajitasya acikitso gailānyau .... ime* (pl. masc.)

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[32] Cf. Weller 85, fn. 15.

[33] In Middle Indic, *ā* and *aṃ* are often interchanged; cf. von Hinüber 1994: 224; *do.* 2001: §112, §269, §304, §413.

[34] Cf. Alsdorf 1956: 329f. = 1974: 66f.; Lüders 1954: §188f.; Mehendale 1955-56: 168; Brough 1962: 79f., 266; Geiger/Norman §78, 2.a; Norman 1995: 200 (ad Sn p.48,8,9); *do.* 1997: 73 (ad Dhp 49); von Hinüber 2001: §304.

[35] Cf. also Norman 1991: 115f.

[36] *glānya~* and *gailānya~*, both of which are originally neuter, appear with a dual masculine ending (-*au* or -*o* [< -*au*]) in prose, while they appear with a dual neuter ending (-*e*) in verse in this manuscript: 59b2~4. *dvāv imau Kāśyapa pravrajitasya dīrghaglānyau. katamau dvau? ... ime* (pl. masc.) *Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya dīrghagailānyo*(< *°au*) (prose); 59b4~5. *ime* (du. neut.) *hi dve pravrajitasya glānye //* (verse); 59b5~60a1. *dvāv imo Kāśyapa pravrajitasya acikitso gailānyau. katamau dvau? .... ime* (pl. masc.) *Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya acikitso glānyo* (prose).

Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya acikitso glānyo (prose)

60a1~3. *dvāv imau Kāśyapa pravrajitasya śalyo. ... ime Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya śalyo.* (prose)

71a4. *tau dvau bhikṣu nirmito* (prose)

§ 9.6. Nominative-accusative dual masculine -*ā* (= Middle Indic and BHS plural masculine) (Cf. BHSG § 8.76. -a)

59b1~2. *dharmāv imau dvau parivarjanīyā //* (vs)

§ 9.7. Nominative dual masculine -*e* ? (BHSG -)

57b4. *ākāśabodhe* (read: °*godhe*?) *imi dve (')pratiṣṭhite / tau bodhisatvena vivarjanīyo //* (vs)[37]

§ 9.8. Nominative-accusative dual neuter -*o* (BHSG.-)

57b5. *d[v]āv imau Kāśyapa pravrajitasya gāḍhabandhano* (prose)

§ 9.9. Nominative-accusative dual neuter -*aṃ* ? (BHSG.-)

58a1. *ime Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya gāḍhabandhanaṃ* (prose)

§ 9.10. Nominative plural -*aḥ*?[38] (Cf. BHSG § 8.83; RgsGr § 8.60)

60a4. *catvāra ime kāśyapa śramaṇaḥ* (prose)

§ 9.11. Nominative plural -*a*[39]?[40](Cf. BHSG § 8.79 [mainly m.c.])

70b2. *te tataś cyuta samānā* (prose!)

§ 9.12. Nominative plural masculine -*ayo*[41]

16a4. *araṇyavāse ku(ha)nāvivarjito / satveṣu ca* (read: *cā* [m.c.]) *saṃgrahayo jinokt[ā] //* (vs)

§ 9.13. Accusative plural masculine -*as*?[42] (BHSG -)

10a4. *dāntājāneyāprāptaś* (read °*ptā<ṃ>ś*?) *ca bodhisatvāṃ dṛṣṭvā* (prose)

58b2~3. *kleśaś* (read *kleśā<ṃ>ś*?) *ca yo pravrajito (')dhivāsayet* / (vs)

§ 9.14. Accusative plural -*aṃ*? (BHSG -)[43]; but see § 7. Confusion of numbers

79b2. *taṃ sarvalokadhātavaḥ sa[pt](aratna)paripūrṇaṃ kṛtvā* (prose)

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[37] "These two kinds of sky-like attachment(?; *ākāśa-bodhe*) are groundless. A bodhisattva should cast them away." The word *ākāśa-bodha~* (read *ā*°-*godhe*?) is difficult to understand; cf. BHSD, s.vv. *ākāśa, bodha*. For *palibodha / paligodha* see BHSD, s.vv.; Lin 1949: 169, fn. 6; Bloch 1950: 104, fn. 13; Lüders 1954: §63; Chang 1957: 109~110; Weller 127~128, fn. 19.

[38] This form might also be a scribal error for -*āḥ*.

[39] This ending is quite common in verses in BHS texts, as Edgerton states. We find also one example in a verse in the KP: 56a1. *rūpādayo da[r]śanam eta iṣṭā //* (vs).

[40] This form might also be a scribal error for -*ā*.

[41] -*ayo* < (m.c.) -*āyo* (BHSG § 8.82), Pkt. -*āo* (Pischel §367); cf. BHS. nom. acc. fem. -*āyo* (BHSG § 9.88).

[42] This form might also be a corruption of -*ā<ṃ>s*; cf. § 2.1.

[43] Cf. Lüders 1954: §§ 196-219; Norman 1969: 142-143 (ad. Th 83); *do.* 1971: 96 (ad Thī 183); Geiger/Norman § 78, 3.a.

80a3. *tān sarva{ṃ}lokadhātuḥ saptaratnaparipūrṇaṃ kṛt[v](ā)* (prose)

§ 9.15. Accusative plural neuter *-e* (Cf. BHSG § 8.103)

11a4. *udāradharmeṣu na hīnayāne / prakāśaye jātu sa bodhisatvo //* (vs)

As the expression *hīna~ yāna~* is found in a plural form elsewhere in this text[44], I assume the form *yāne* is an accusative plural neuter rather than the much doubted accusative singular one.[45]

§ 9.16. Instrumental plural *-ai, -er, -eḥ, -e*

§ 9.16.1. *-ai* (< *-aiḥ*) (Cf. BHSG § 8.107)[46]

56a2. *cyutāś ca devai manujaiś*[47] *ca kecit /* (vs)

73a2. *ebhiś c(') evāyuṣmanto dharmai*[48] *nirvāṇaṃ sūcyate* (prose)

§ 9.16.2. *-eḥ, -er, -e* (< *-aiḥ*)[49] Cf. § 16.2

20a4. *catuḥsaṃgraheḥ saṃgrahīto (')pāyo*[50] (vs)

41b5. *kiṃ cāpi tathāgato koṭīśatasahasraparivāraḥ śrāvaker* (prose)

61a2. *saṃtuṣṭaḥ caturbhir āryavaṃśer* (prose)[51]

63a2. *yo kāyavākcittamaner aśuddho /* (vs)

65a2. *bhikṣus tathā śīlaguṇer upetaḥ /* (vs)

70a3~4. *na śakyam anavaropitakuśalamūle pāpamitraparigṛhīter anadhimuktibahule*
　　　satvair adhimucyituṃ vā paryāpunituṃ vā avatarituṃ vā (prose)

50a5. *āgaṃtuker upakleśe saṃkliśyate*[52](prose)

4a3. *gurudākṣiṇīye*[53] *na karoti proktuṃ* (vs)

17a1. *etā niṣevitva jinā bhavaṃti / te b[o]dhisatve sada sevitavyāḥ //*(vs)

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[44] 20a5~20b1. *bī[n]e(ṣu) yāneṣu ratir na kāryam**(vs).

[45] The exisistence of the accusative singular neuter in *-e* is doubted by Norman (1981: 200) and von Hinüber (2001 § 323); cf. also Norman 1969: 175 (ad Th 279); *do.* 1971: 60-61 (ad Thī 18).

[46] The instrumental plural in *-ai* is also found in fragments of the SP from Khādaliq: SP(Wi).41, Fragment 16, verso 2. + *lasahasrai pari[dī]pyamāna; do.* 81, Fragment 58, recto 5. *svakasvakai upasthāyakaiḥ; do.* verso 2. *anekai mahāratnaiḥ; do.* 83, Fragment 61, recto 3. /// *[b](a)srai sapari ..*

[47] These instrumental forms are used in an ablative function; cf. BHSG § 7.35f.

[48] The *Prasannapadā* (48.7) cites this passage and there instead stands *dharmair*.

[49] For the instrumental plural in *-e*, cf. Geiger §79.6; Norman 1969: 146 (ad Th 102); *do.* 1995: 253 (ad Sn 547), 262 (ad Sn 609), 272 (ad Sn 669); *do.* 1997: 76 (ad Dhp 61); v. Hinüber 2000: §316. This ending is also found in the SP.; e.g. SP(O). 66b6. *aho 'smi parivaṃci{t}ta pāpacitte* (vs; cf. SP[KN]. 61.12. *aho 'smi parivañcitu pāpacittaiḥ*); SP(O).100b4. *yeṣāṃ ca bāle na kadāci saṃstava* (vs; cf. SP[KN]. 97.13. *yeṣāṃ ca bālehi [v.l. bāleṣu] na saṃstavo 'sti*; SP[Wi].Fragment 20, recto 5. *bālebbi [yeṣ]ā.. [kadā] + .. [sta] ///*); SP(K'). 168a4-5. *saci dārumaye ayomaye haḍinigaḍair iha baddhu bandhanaiḥ* (vs); SP(O).429b4. *saci dārumake ayomake* ///(Cf. SP[KN]. 450.1. *saci dārumayaiḥ ayomayair haḍinigaḍair [v.l. °-er] iha [v.l. api] baddha bandhanaiḥ] etc.*

[50] Read: °*grahīto upāyo* (m.c.).

[51] Cf. 63a4. *caturāryavaṃśehi samanvito* (vs).

[52] Cf. Śikṣ. 234, 8. *āgantukair kleśair (v.l. kleśopakleśair) upakliśyate;* cf. also BHSD, s.v. *saṃkliśyate.*

[53] Cf. Weller 64, fn. 14.

24a2~3. *bodhisatvo loke jāto <u>lokadharme</u> na lipyate* (prose)[54]

62a2. *yaḥ kāśyapa bhikṣur anarthik[o] bhavati kāyena ca jīvitenāpi. kaḥ punar vvādo lābhasatkāraśloke* (prose)

78a5. *sarvasatvā tārayitavyā ḥ caturbhir <u>oghe</u> uhyamānāḥ* (prose)

§ 9.17. Genitive plural -*ānā* ?[55](BHSG.-)

2a4~5. *dha(rmārthi)(k)ānā ca karau[t]i vigh(n)a[m]* //* (vs)

19a5. *<u>pratipattivipratipattisthitānā</u> satvānām* (prose)

26b5~27a1. *<u>miśrakāvanapra(ti)[ṣṭh](i)tānā</u> trāyastrimśānāṃ devānām* (prose)

27a2~3. *yathāpi devāna samā prayogā / miśrāvane saṃsthihate <u>sthitānā</u> //* (vs)

47b1~2. *<u>sarvaviparyāsānā</u> catvāro (')viparyāsa cikitsā* (prose)

55a3. *teṣāṃ <u>lokikasaṃvarasthitānā</u> svargaloka upapattir bhavati*

59b3. *mahāyānasamprasthitānāṃ ca <u>satvānā</u> vicchandanā*

70a2. *<u>buddhānā</u> bhagavaṃtānāṃ* (prose)

§ 9.18. Genitive plural -*ān* (Cf. BHSG § 8.124)

56a1. *<u>ādīnavān</u> n(i)ḥsaraṇ[e]{ḥ}[56] k(i)m eṣā[57]* (vs)

§ 10. *ā*-stems

§ 10.1. Nominative singular feminine -*a* (Cf. BHSG § 9.8)

77b4. *(dharmanāvā [nom. sg. fem.] ....) <u>indriyasunirīkṣita dānavakravigata</u> balavegasamudgatā antareṇa (')śithila .... ariśatrumārapathajahanī* (prose)

§ 10.2. Accusative singular feminine -*am*?[58](Cf. BHSG § 9.16 only in verses)

42a5. *devatā <u>spṛham</u> utpādayaṃti* (prose)

§ 10.3. Nominative plural feminine -*āya* (m.c.)?[59]

25b2. *tatha bodhisatvasya upāyasaṃgrraho[60] / buddhārtha <u>prajñāya</u> karonti nitya //* (vs)[61]

§ 11. *i*-stems

§ 11.1. Accusative singular feminine -*iḥ* (BHSG § 10.60)

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[54] Cf. 24a4. *na lokadharmehi kadāci lipyate*.

[55] This form might also be a corruption of -*ānāṃ*; cf. § 2.1.

[56] Scribal error for °*ṇaṃ*. Here, the sign for *e* looks very similar to anusvāra. I assume that the scribe noticed his mistake just after he started writing it, resulting in the ambiguous sign we find here.

[57] < *eṣām* (gen. pl.).

[58] This form might be a scribal error for -*ām*.

[59] Cf. BHSG § 9.88f. –*āyo, āyaḥ*.

[60] Probably a scribal error for °*grrahā*.

[61] Cf. 25a5~25b1. *evam eva Kāśyapa upāyasaṃg[ṛhī]tā bodhisatvasya prajñā sarvabuddhakāryāṇi karoti*.

56a3. *apāyabhūmiḥ prapatamti kecit* (vs)

§ 11.2. Genitive singular masculine *-i*?[62] (BHSG -)

KP. 75b1. *āyuṣmantaḥ Subhūti paripṛcchataḥ*[63] (prose)

§ 11.3. Locative singular feminine *-o* (< *-au*) (BHSG -)[64]

50b5. *aśuco*[65] *śucisaṃjñāyā* (prose)

§ 12. *in*-stems

§ 12.1. Genitive singular *-ina* of *-in* stem (BHSG -)[66]

18b4. *vipākāpratikāṃkṣiṇa tyāgaḥ*

§ 13. *u*-stems

§ 13.1. Instrumental singular *-una* (< [m.c.] *-unā*) (BHSG -)

55b4. *śvāno yathā leṣṭuna trāsyamāno* (vs)

§ 13.2. Locative singular masculine *-umhi* (= Pā) (BHSG -)

21b1. *putre ca śatrumhi ca tulyamānaso* (vs)[67]

§ 13.3. Nominative-accusative dual masculine *-u* (Skt. *-ū*) (BHSG -)

71a3~4. *bhagavāṃs .... dvau bhikṣu nirmimīte sma ... tau dvau bhikṣu nirmito*[68] (prose)

§ 13.4. Accusative plural masculine *-avaḥ* (BHSG § 12.48)

79b2. *taṃ sarvalokadhātavaḥ sa[pt](aratna)paripūrṇam kṛtvā*[69] (prose)

80a2. *gaṃgānadīvālukāsamāṃ lokadhātavaḥ paramāṇurajāṃsi (tā)ttakā bhidya* (prose)

§ 13.5. Accusative plural masculine *-uḥ*?[70] (BHSG -)

80a3. *tān sarva{ṃ}lokadhātuḥ saptaratnaparipūrṇam kṛt[v](ā)* (prose)

§ 13.6. Genitive plural *-unām* (Cf. BHSG § 12.71)

61a5. *bhikṣuṇām amtike* (prose)

§ 14. *an*-stems

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[62] This form might also be a corruption of *-e* (BHSG § 10.72).

[63] Cf. *Prasannapadā* 49.15. *āyuṣmataḥ Subhūteḥ paripṛcchatas.*

[64] Cf. von Hinüber 2001: §327; Abhis. 35B3. "*ko vṛddhatarako vṛddho* (< loc. sg. fem. *vṛddhau*)" tti.

[65] Śikṣ.234.10 cites this word in the KP as *aśucau*.

[66] Cf. RgsGr § 10.23. *maṇina* (gen. sg. of *maṇi~*; m.c.).

[67] Cf. Weller 87, fn. 2.

[68] In a quotation of this passage, found in the *Prasannapadā* (47.3, 5), the classical form of *bhikṣū* stands in place of *bhikṣu*.

[69] In this sentence, both *taṃ* and *°paripūrṇam* are acc. sg., while *°dhātavaḥ* is acc. pl.; cf. § 7.

[70] Cf. § 7.

§ 14.1. Ablative singular -*nā*[71] (BHSG -) Cf. §14.3

    79a5. *ito ratnakūtaṃ sūtrāntarājñā-d-ekagāthām apy upadiśet** (prose)

    80b2. *ito mahāratnakūtāt sūtrrāntarājñā sarvabuddhabhāṣitād* (prose)

§ 14.2. Ablative singular neuter -*naṃ* (<[72] -*nā*[73]) (BHSG -) Cf. §9.4

    46b2. *buddhorasānāṃ parikarmaṇaṃ*[74] *tathā / āyo bahū{nāṃ} śrāvakānāṃ*[75] *tath(')*

    eva // (vs)[76]

§ 14.3. Genitive singular -*nā* (BHSG -) Cf. §14.1

    41b3. *rājñā cakkravartinaḥ putrasahasraṃ bhavet** (prose)

§ 14.4. Locative singular -*a*?[77] (BHSG -)

    44b3. *himavaṃta ye parvatarāja bheṣajā rohaṃti /* (vs)

§ 14.5. Nominative plural masculine -*āna* (BHSG §17.60 [m.c.])

    47b3. *anātmāna sarvadharmā iti* (prose)

§ 14.6. Genitive plural -*anaṃ* (< [m.c.] -*anāṃ*) (BHSG -)

    14b2~3. *śunyāś ca dharmān adhimuc[y](a)te sadā / vipāka pattīyati karmaṇaṃ*[78] *ca //*

    (vs)

§ 15. *nt*-stems

§ 15.1. Genitive singular -*ta*?[79] (BHSG -)

    70a5. *tathāgatasyârhata*[80] *samyaksaṃbuddhasya* (prose)

§ 15.2. Genitive singular -*ntaḥ* (Cf. BHSG § 18.69)

    75b1. *āyuṣmantaḥ Subhūti paripṛcchata ḥ*[81] (prose; genitive absolute)

§ 15.3. Locative singular -*nta*?[82] (BHSG -)

    44b3. *himavaṃta ye parvatarāja bheṣajā rohaṃti /* (vs)

§ 15.4. Genitive plural -*ntā<ṃ>* (Cf. BHSG § 18.74. -*ntaṃ* < -*ntāṃ*)

    73b5. *ko nām âyuṣmantā<ṃ>*[83] *śāstā* (prose)

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[71] Cf. Pā. *rañña* (Abl. sg. masc.).

[72] For the interchange between *ā* and *aṃ*, see footnote (33).

[73] Cf. Pā. *kammanā* (Abl. sg. neut.).

[74] However, Edgerton takes this form as a nominative singular neuter of the word **parikarmaṇa~* which is not instanced elsewhere according to my knowledge (BHSD, p. 320).

[75] Read: **śrāvakanāṃ* (m.c.)?

[76] "Similarly, through the 'polishing' of the Buddha's sons, hearers also emerge in numbers."

[77] See § 8.1.

[78] Cf. 14b4~5. *(vi)pāka nā[k]āṃ[kṣ]ati [k]armaṇāṃ ca*

[79] It can be merely an omission of visarga which is very common in manuscripts.

[80] The same form is found in Conze 1962: 105.18 *tathāgatasya-arhata samyaksaṃbuddhasya.*

[81] Cf. *Prasannapadā* 49.15. *āyuṣmataḥ Subhūteḥ paripṛcchatas.*

[82] See § 8.1.

[83] Cf. *Prasannapadā* 49.3: *āyuṣmatāṃ.*

§ 16. Generic Pronouns

§ 16.1. Locative singular feminine *tasyā*[84] (< *tasyāṃ* < Skt. *tasyām*)?[85]

75b2. *tasyā parṣadi* (prose)

H/M.b8. *tasyā velā-* ///[86] (prose)

§ 16.2. Instrumental plural masculine *te* (< Skt. *taiḥ*)[87] Cf. § 9.16.2

45a1~2. *ye mama śrraddadhaṃti* *te* *balavaṃtataraṃ bodhisatvaṃ namaskartavya<ṃ>* (prose)

70a5. *te kāśyapasya tathāgatasyāṃtikād upārambhābhiprāyair ekā dharmadeśanā śrrutā śrutvā c(')eva cittaprasādo labdha* (prose)

§ 16.3. Genitive plural masculine *teṣā* (< Skt. *teṣāṃ*)?[88]

17a3. *teṣā jino puṇyam anantu bhāṣate* / (vs)

54b3. *teṣā tatr(') ekākinām advitīyānāṃ kāyapraviviktavihāriṇāṃ* (prose)

§ 16.4. Accusative plural masculine *etā* (< *etāṃ* < Skt. *etān*) of *etad*?[89]

13b2. *etā niṣeva(nta) sadāpramantā* / (vs)

§ 16.5. Instrumental singular feminine *(i)mayaṃ* (<[90] *imayā* [= Pā[91]]) of *idam* (BHSG -)

70b5. *kṛtaṃ punar eṣā (')mayaṃ dharmadeśanāyā parikarma*[92] (prose)

§ 16.6. Nominative-accusative dual masculine *imo* (< *-au*) See § 9.5

§ 16.7. Nominative-accusative dual masculine *ime* (= plural masculine or dual neuter ending) Cf. § 9.7

58a4. *ime Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasyâṃntarāyakarau dharmau* (prose)

58b2. *ime Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya malo* (prose)

etc.[93]

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[84] This form is found also in: SP(W). 163.12. *tasyā velāyām* (= 236.16).

[85] This form might also be a corruption of *tasyāṃ*; cf. § 2.1.

[86] Cf. 68a3. *tasyāṃ velāyām*.

[87] This form is also found in the SP: SP(O). 38b6. *sugatasya jñānaṃ na* *te* *śakya[ṃ] jñātum** (vs; cf. SP[H]. 273, H.10. Kha. 0014b. 7. *sugatasya jñānaṃ na taiś śakya jñātum**; SP[KN]. 31.10. *sugatasya jñānaṃ na hi* [K'. etc. *taiḥ*] *śakya jānituṃ*); SP(O). 55b5. *na ca śrutas te ima buddhaghoṣaṃ* (vs; cf. SP[KN]. 48.8. *te naiva śṛṇvanti su* [read '*mu* < *imaṃ*] *buddhaghoṣaṃ*); SP(F). 17b2-3. *saṃstavaṃ te vivarjayet** (vs; cf. SP[KN]. 279.11. *saṃstavaṃ taír vivarjayet*; SP[O]. 267b1. *saṃstavaṃ tebbi varjayet**) etc.

[88] The form *teṣā* might also be a corruption of *teṣāṃ*; cf. § 2.1.

[89] The form *etā* might also be a corruption of *etāṃ*; cf. § 2.1.

[90] For the interchange between *ā* and *aṃ*, see footnote (33).

[91] Cf. Geiger/Norman §108.

[92] "Then, through this exposition of the Dharma, they made preparations."

[93] Other instances are: 58b5. *ime Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya aśanīprapāto dharma*(!) (prose); 59a5. *ime Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya paridāgho* (prose); 59b3. *ime Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya dīrghagailānyo* (prose);

§ 16.8. Accusative plural masculine *imā* (< *imāṃ* < Skt. *imān*) of *idam* (BHSG -;
    cf. BHSG § 21.33) Cf. § 2.1

    3b3. *catvār(?) imā dharma*[94] *bhajaṃta paṇḍitāḥ /* (vs)

    7b1. *imā tu dharmās*[95] *caturo viditvā /* (vs)

§ 16.9. Instrumental plural masculine *ehi* (< Skt. *ehhiḥ*) of *idam* (BHSG -)

    6a4. *tam*[96] *ehi dharmehi samanvitasya /* (vs)

§ 16.10. Genitive plural masculine *eṣā* (< Skt. *eṣāṃ*) of *idam?*[97]

    56a1~2. *ādīnavān*[98] *n(i)ḥsaraṇ[e]{ḥ} k(i)m eṣā / ajānamānā puna grrāmam āśrritā*
    // (vs)

    70b5. *kṛtaṃ punar eṣā (?)mayaṃ dharmadeśanāyā parikarma*[99] (prose)

§ 16.11. Nominative singular masculine *ye*?(Cf. BHSG § 21.7) Cf. § 9.2

    17a4. *ye kṣetrakoṭyo yatha gaṃgavālikā ratnāna pūritvana teṣu*[100] *dadyāt** (prose)

§ 16.12. Nominative-accusative dual masculine *katamo* (< Skt. *katamau*) See §
    9.5

§ 17. Optative

  § 17.1. Non-thematic middle ending in *aya* stem: *-īta* (opt. 3rd sg.) (Cf. BHSG
    §29.6)[101]

    6a4. ++ *kṣipīta imi jinena proktāt**[102] (vs)

  § 17.2. Athematic optative in *ya* (Cf. BHSG § 29.42)

    80a2~3. *tāttakā caiva gaṃgānadīvālukāsamāṃ lokadhātavaḥ paramāṇurajāṃsi*
    (tā)ttakā bhidya[103] (prose)

§ 18. Imperative

  § 18.1. Imperative 3 sg. middle *-tā*?[104] (Cf. § 2.1)

60a1. *ime Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya acikitso glānyo* (prose); 60a3. *ime Kāśyapa dvau pravrajitasya śalyo* (prose).

[94] Acc. pl. masc. (m.c.); cf. BHSG § 8.94.

[95] Acc. pl. masc.; cf. BHSG § 8.93.

[96] < Skt. *tad*.

[97] The form *eṣā* might also be a corruption of *eṣāṃ*; cf. § 2.1.

[98] Gen. pl.; see § 9.18.

[99] "Then, through this exposition of the Dharma, <u>they</u> made preparations." This sentence constitutes a nominative absolute.

[100] Gen. pl.

[101] Cf. also v. Hinüber 2001: §119, §444.

[102] Read *proktān**.

[103] Cf. 79b2. *bhindeya* (MS. *birdeya*).

[104] The form *-tā* might also be a corruption of the imperative 3rd sg. middle *-tāṃ*; cf. Rm-av. 210.6.

45a3~4. *em eva yaḥ śraddadhatai*(read: °*te*) *jinātmajo* / *sa bodhisatvaṃ* namatā *jinā*

na tu // (vs)

§ 19. Passive

§ 19.1. Non-Sanskrit passive

48b4. *te sarve* pariprccheran*[105] (prose)

§ 20. Past passive participles

§ 20.1. Past passive participle with active meaning from transitive verb (Cf. BHSG § 34.15)[106]

75a4. chinnā *yūyaṃ saṃsāraṃ* (prose)[107]

75a5. pratipannā *yūyaṃ {śramaṇa}śramaṇabhūmau* (prose)[108]

§ 20.2. Past passive participial suffix -*eta*(?)[109] (BHSG -)

45b2~3. *na kenaci* (read °*cit* or °*cī*)*candra vivarjayitvā* / *namaskṛtā tāragaṇā kadācit**

// *na jātu śikṣāpratipanna evaṃ* / *mamātmajaṃ tyaja* (< [m.c.] *tyajya*) nameta (<

[m.c.] nămita) *śrāvakaḥ* //[110]

§ 21. Gerunds

§ 21.1. Gerund -*īya* (BHSG § 35.18)[111]

8b5~9a1. *dhanarājyaheto na ca jī(v)i(tārthaṃ* / *mṛṣā) vadaṃte* vidad<h>īya[112]

saṃjñām// (vs)[113]

§ 21.2. Gerund -*yaṃ*?[114] (BHSG.-)[115]

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asmannāmnāya saṃbuddhaṃ sasaṃghaṃ namatāṃ *bhavān* . PW also cites one example of the verb in medium used with an accusative: *nasmasvâinam* (*Mahābhārata*, 3.32.39).

[105] < *pariprcchyeran*: "if they are asked". BHSG § 37.32 cites *prcchasi* (< *prcchyase*) from the *Mahāvastu*.

[106] Cf. also Speijer § 360; Renou Gr. § 152 ; Hendriksen 1944: § 7~8; Sen 1953 = 1995: §149.

[107] Cf. *Prasannapadā* 49.13. {*ut*}*tīrṇo* (Cf. p. 339, fn. 1) *yuṣmābhiḥ saṃsāraḥ*.

[108] Cf. *Prasannapadā* 49.14. *pratipannā yuṣmābhir dakṣiṇīyabhūmiḥ*.

[109] Cf. Infinitives in -*etuṃ*, -*etu* (BHSG § 36.8; RgsGr §43.3f.).

[110] "Having set aside the moon, nobody ever pays homage to stars; similarly, having set aside my sons who are following (my) discipline, no one pays homage to a hearer."

[111] Gerunds in -*īya* are also found in the *Abhisamācārika-Dharma* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin: 24B4-5. *karīya* (three times), 34A3. *pūrīya*, 36A2. *prajvālīya*. All of these occurrences are found in the prose part.

[112] Gerund formed from the present stem of Skt. √ *dhā*.

[113] "Neither for the sake of wealth and the kingdom nor for the sake of their lives, they tell lies intentionally (lit. 'having fixed awareness')." Both Weller (p. 70, fn. 8) and Pāsādika (1977-1979, I, p. 38, fn. 4) fail to understand this form correctly.

[114] Or a scribal error for -*ya*?; cf. § 2.2.

[115] For the extension of a gerund by -*ṃ* in Pāli, see Norman 1969: 294 (ad Th 1242; *pavibhajjaṃ*); *do.*

76a2. *kaścid eva puruṣaḥ mṛnmayīnāv(?)*[116] *abhiruhyaṃ gaṃgā[n](adī)m uttartukāmo bhavet** (prose)

§ 22. Infinitive

§ 22.1. Infinitive -*tu* (?)[117] (BHSG § 36.3)

KP.22b3. *na śakyam abhibhavitu paryādattuṃ vā* (prose)

H/M.a2. *śaknuyā cikitsittu* (prose)

V. Some Noteworthy Words

anāpnoti < (m.c.) *annāpnoti < *anv-āpnoti* "attains"

3b3. *prajñām anāpnoti jinapraśastā //* (vs)

arghati "is qualified for, is entitled to (+ dative)"[118]

18a3~4. *[s](a)rvajñajñānâvatāraṇatayā kim ahaṃm arg<h>āmîti* (prose)[119]

19b3. *sarvajñajñānôt{t}araṇāya kiṃ nu / arghāmi nârghāmy aha{ṃ} j{ñ}ānamānā //* (vs)[120]

utkumbhati ("bucks"?[121]) <[122] *ut-khumbhati < *ut-kṣumbhati[123] < *ut* + √ *kṣubh* ("to shake, tremble, be disturbed")

56b2. *aśva skhalati utkumbhati vā khaḍuṃkakkriyā* (vs)

eyaṃ[124] : presumably a scribal error for *ayaṃ*

70b2. "*āścāryaṃ yāvan madhurapriyabhāṇī khalv eyaṃ Kāśyapas tathāgato (?)rhāṃ samyaksaṃbuddha*" *iti* (prose)

1997: 157 (ad Dhp 392; *sakkaccaṃ, upapajjaṃ, peccaṃ*).

[116] < °*nāvaṃ*; cf. BHSG § 4.29.

[117] This form might also be a corruption of -*tuṃ*; cf. § 2.1. Cf. also Oguibénine 1994: 116.

[118] Cf. CPD, s.v. *agghati* (2) "to be worthy, proper, becoming"; cf. also Skt. √ *arh* "to deserve, be entitled to; to be able."

[119] "(Considering:) 'Am I qualified for making (others) penetrate the wisdom of the Buddha?' "

[120] "He considers (*or* They consider): 'Am I qualified for making (others) penetrate the wisdom of the Buddha or not?' "

[121] Cf. BHSD, s.v. *utkumbhati* "rears"; CDIAL. 1751. **utkṣubdha-* "cast up".

[122] For the dissimilation of aspirates, cf. Geiger/Norman § 62, fn. 6 (Pā. *dhaṅka* < *dhaṅkha < Skt. *dhāṅkṣa*); Norman 1995: 151 (ad Sn 52; e.g. Pā. *khudā* < *khudhā < Skt. *kṣudhā*; Pā. *ghaṭṭa* < *ghaṭṭha* < Skt. *ghṛṣṭa*; Pā. *pihā* < *phihā < Skt. *spṛhā* etc.); Oberlies 1996: 99 (Pā. *puṭṭha* < Pā. *phuṭṭha* < Skt. *spṛṣṭa*; Pkt. *ṇeha* < *nheha < Skt. *sneha*).

[123] Cf. CDIAL. 3726. *kṣumbhati "shakes".

[124] Cf. SP(KN).306.7. *eyaṃ* < (m.c.) *iyaṃ*. The same form *eyaṃ*, which is presumably a scribal error of *iyaṃ*, is also found in the Aśokan Inscriptions, see Norman 1990: 109.

otaraṇa~ (< [m.c.] *otāraṇa~* [= Pā] < *avatāraṇa*) "the causing to penetrate (intellectually), bringing to comprehension"[125]

> 19b3. *sarvajñajñānôt{t}araṇāya kiṃ nu / arghāmi nârghāmy aha{ṃ} j{ñ}ānamānā //* (vs)[126]

ketava~ ([= Pā[127]] < Skt. *kaitava~*) "deceit"

> 4a4. *māyāya śāṭhyena ca ketavena / par(añ ca seva)n[t]i ca nāśayena //* (vs)

cārayati ("utters [abuses]")[128]

> 8a2. *akīrty avarṇaṃ ayaśaṃ ca cārayī*[129] / (vs)

jñāna~ / yāna~[130]

> 11b3. *buddhajñānasamādāpanatā sarvasatveṣu* (prose)

This prose was versified as follows:

> 11b5. *samādapeyā-d-iha buddhayāne* (vs)

parijñāya : "having comprehended and given up"(?); cf. Pā. *paññāya* "knowing and renouncing", AMg. *pariṇṇāya* "abandoning after careful consideration"[131]

> 68b3. *na cātmasaṃjñī na pareṣu saṃjñī / saṃjñā parijñāya viśuddhaśīlaḥ //*[132] (vs)

pune : a Māgadhism for Pā. *puno*, Pkt. *puṇo* (< Skt. *punar*)[133] or a scribal error for *puno* or *punā*?

> 56a2. *pune pi rūpehi vihanyamānā* (vs)

pura : a corruption of *puraṃ*[134] (<[135] Skt. *purā* "before")?[136]

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[125] Cf. BHSD, s.v. *avatāraṇa*.

[126] Cf. 18a3~4. *[s](a)rvajñajñānâvatāraṇatayā kim ahaṃm arg<h>āmîti* (prose).

[127] Cf. *A Dictionary of Pāli*, by Margaret Cone Oxford 2001 (PTS), s.v. *ketava* "gambling; cheating; fraud, deception".

[128] This usage is found also in other Buddhist texts: RkP. 47.8. *avarṇaṃ cārayanti* ; SP(KN).282.13f. *na câvarṇaṃ bhāṣate na câvarṇaṃ niścārayati (v.l. cārayati) na ... avarṇaṃ bhāṣate na câvarṇaṃ cārayati.*

[129] An aorist form with optative meaning; cf. BHSG § 32.119f. In his dictionary, Edgerton fails to notice this form in the following sentence in the SP as such and wrongly takes it as an adjective, see BHSD, s.v. *cārayin*; SP(KN).273.3. *vakṣyanty avarṇam asmākaṃ tīrthyavādaṃ ca cārayī (v.ll. tīrtha-vādaṃ ca cārayet; tīrthikā vāca cārayī; tīrthikāṃ vāca cārayī*; cf. Karashima 2001a: 145, fn. 20).

[130] For the interchange between *yāna* and *jñāna*, see Karashima 2001b: 215f.; von Hinüber 2001: § 251.

[131] Cf. PTSD, s.v. *pariññā*¹; Norman 1971: 95 (ad Thī 168); *do.* 1993: 265; *do.* 1995: 187 (ad Sn 202); *do.* 1997: 86 (ad Dhp 92).

[132] "He has no notion neither about himself nor about others. Having comprehended and renounced notions, he possesses pure conducts." Cf. 73a3~4. *prajahīte tām āyuṣmantaḥ saṃjñā yad uta parinirvāṇam iti mā ca saṃjñāyā saṃjñā kārṣva* (read: *kārṣṭa*). *mā asaṃjñāyā (mā) ca saṃjñayā saṃjñā parijñāsiṣva* (read: *parijñāsiṣṭa*). *yaḥ saṃjñayā saṃjñā parijānāti saṃjñābandhanam evâsya tad bhavati.*

[133] Cf. BHSD, s.v. *puni*.

[134] Cf. Mvu I 133.4. *abhayante ahaṃ demi tac ca sthānaṃ yathāpuram (< puraṃ) // iti.* Cf. also BHSD, s.v. *puraṃ*.

65b3~4. *ratnaṃ yathoccāragataṃ juguspitaṃ / yathā s<i>yān na <puna> tathā yathā* __pura__ // (vs)

__pratinisarati__ : with *anyenānyam* "goes off upon another issue, leads the talk aside, gets off the subject, prevaricates"[137] Cf. MSV(D) III 108.8. *anyenānyaṃ pratisarati*[138]; Pā. *aññen' aññaṃ paṭicarati*[139]

8b1. *nânyenānyaṃ* __pratinisṛtya__ *vācā bhāṣate*[140] (prose)

__prasaṭha~__: a corrupted form of **prasaṭa~*[141] < *prasṛta~* ("come forth, issued from; spread, diffused")[142]

77b3. *samyakprahāṇa*__prasaṭhā__[143] (prose)

__mamaṃkāra__ (= Pā) "selfish attachment"

H/M.b4. *ahaṃkāra*__mamaṃkāra__+++ (prose)

__yoniśa-__ for *yoniśas* (Cf. BHSD, s.v.)[144]

28a4. __yoniśa__*dharmaprayogaḥ* (prose)

65a2. *a*__yoniśa__*kleśasamutthitā rujā* (vs)

78b3. __yoniśa__*manasikāreṇa* (prose)

__vārā vāpeya__ ("he would scatter treasures")[145]

79b2. *tāttakā caiva* __vārā vāpeya__. *tāttakā caiva taṃ sarvalokadhātavaḥ sa[pt](aratna)paripūrṇaṃ kṛtvā* (prose)

80a3. *tāttakā caiva* __vārā <vā>peya__. *tān sarvaṃ lokadhātuḥ saptaratnaparipūrṇaṃ kṛt[v](ā)* (prose)

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[135] For the interchange between *ā* and *aṃ*, see footnote (33).

[136] The form *pura* is found also in a verse in the *Mahāvastu*: Mvu III 250.14.5 *sarvaṃdadasya* __pura__ *jātir abhūṣi siddhā /* (vs).

[137] Both Weller (p. 69, fn. 16; p. 70, fn. 8) and Pāsādika (1977-1979, I, p. 38, fn. 2) fail to understand this word correctly.

[138] MSV(D) III 108.7f. *avakāśaṃ kāryamāṇo 'nyenānyaṃ pratisarati. bhagavān āha : "avacanīyaḥ kartavyaḥ." avacanīyaḥ kṛtaḥ. tathāpy anyenānyaṃ pratisarati.*

[139] Cf. PTSD, s.v. *paṭicarati*; BD II 164, fn. 4; DN(tr.) I 116, fn. 2; Vibh-a(trans.). II 273.

[140] "He speaks without going off upon another issue."

[141] Cf. Pā. *pasaṭa* "let out, produced"(PTSD, s.v.; but this word in DN III 167 cited also in PTSD means "intent upon").

[142] Edgerton leaves this word as corrupt and etymologically unexplainable (BHSD, s.v. *prasaṭha*). Pāsādika (1977-1979, IX, p. 38, fn. 68) suggests reading *prasthā* for *prasaṭhā*, which is most implausible. Weller (p. 155, fn. 1) takes this form as a corruption of **prasaṭṭha~* < *prasṛṣṭa~* ("set free, let loose"). It is conceivable that **prasaṭa~* (< *prasṛta*) was confused with its synonymous word **prasaṭṭha~* (< *prasṛṣṭa~*), which resulted in the form *prasaṭha* in question.

[143] "(The dharma-ship) issues from right exertion."

[144] The following are examples found in prose in other texts: RkP. 45.3. *yoniśamanasikārābhiyukto*; SP(O).296b7. *yoniśamanasikāraprayuktā; do.* 453b3. *yoniśamanas(kā)ro.*

[145] Edgerton (BHSD, s.v. *vārāpayati*; BHSG §38.57) and Weller(p.158, fn.2) incorrectly take it as one word. The word *vāra* appears in the Ṛgveda in the meaning of "treasure".

vigrābika~ ("disputatious, quarrelsome, challenging [speech]") Cf. Pā. *viggābika~*
("quarrelsome")[146]

> 12b2~3. *lokāyataṃ ye ca paṭhaṃti bālā / vigrābikā yatra kathopadiṣṭā //*[147] (vs)

vidadīya: read *vidadhīya*: see § 21.1

sa-bbekṣāka-kulaṃ < (m.c.) *ssa-* < *sva-* "a family who gives almsfood constantly to
him"[148]

> 58b3. *mitraṃ sabbekṣākakulaṃ ca sevati //* (vs)

smitomukbatvaṃ : presumably a hyperform of *smitāmu*°[149] < (m.c.) *smitamukhatvaṃ*

> 19b5. *smitomukbatvaṃ anṛtā*(read: *sunṛtā*) *ca vāṇī //* (vs)

VI. Obscure Words

tajjakkriyā[150]

> 54b4. *rajanīyās tajjakkriyā rūpaśabdagandharasasparśāvabhāsam āgacchaṃti* (prose)

dāryaṇatvaṃ

> 19b5~20a1. *upātabbāre + + dāryaṇatvaṃ*[151] */ karuṇāparicchinna tath(') eva satve //*
> (vs)

śāntatavi[152]

> 56a5~b1. *ādhyātma cittaṃ pratipakṣataś ca / gaveṣate śāntatavi smṛtīmān //* (vs)

<div align="center">ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS</div>

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[146] This adjective is used always to describe the word *katbā* ("a talk"). Cf. PTSD, s.v. *vigrābika*; cf. also
Sn 930. *kathaṃ viggābikaṃ na kathayeyya*; Vin V 158.9. *mā kho sahasā abbaṇi, kathaṃ viggābikaṃ
anattbasaṃbitaṃ*.

[147] "Also the foolish who study the *lokāyata*-philosophy, in which disputations are taught." Neither
Weller (p. 74, fn. 17) nor Pāsādika (II. p. 33) understands the meaning of this verse correctly.

[148] Cf. BHSD, s.v. *bbaikṣāka*; Weller 129, fn. 6; cf. also SBV II.254.17~18. *mama bhaikṣākakulaṃ*; Divy.
263.2. *asmākam ... bhaikṣākulaṃ*.

[149] Cf. LV. 28.12. *sumitīmukba, v.l. sumitāmukha* < (m.c.) Skt. *smitamukha*.

[150] Cf. Weller : 124, fn. 17(read: *tajjanīya* < *tarjanīya*); Pāsādika 1977-1979, VII, p. 36, fn. 24 ("having
immediate action" < *tajja* "instantaneous" + *kriyā*).

[151] The Tibetan translation reads *sbum pa med* (= Skt. *anavalīna, anolīna, a-dainya~*) here.

[152] A corruption? See Weller: 126, fn. 10.

BD = Isaline Blew Horner, *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka)*, 6 vols., London 1938-1966 (Sacred Books of the Buddhists 10, 11, 13, 14, 20, 25).

BHS(D, G) = F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, 2 vols, New Haven 1953

Divy = *The Divyâvadâna: A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*, ed. by Edward Byles Cowell and Robert Alexander Neil, Cambridge 1886 : The University Press.

DN(tr.) = *Dialogues of the Buddha*, tr. from the Pali of the Dīgha Nikāya by T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, part I-III, 1977 London (PTS) ([1]1899, 1910, 1921; SBB vol. II-IV).

Geiger/Norman = Wilhelm Geiger, *A Pāli Grammar*, translated into English by Batakrishna Ghosh, revised and edited by K. R. Norman, Oxford 1994 : PTS.

H/M = Fragments of the *Kāśyapa-parivarta* in the R. Hoernle Collection and the Mannerheim Collection.

KP = *Kāśyapa-parivarta*

LV = *Lalitavistara*, ed. S. Lefmann, 2 vols., Halle 1902-1908.

MSV(D) = *The Vinayavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt, vol. 3, pts. 1-4, Srinagar 1942, 1943, 1950; Delhi [2]1984: Sri Satguru.

Mvu = *Le Mahâvastu*, texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'un commentaire, par É. Senart, Paris 1882-1897: Imprimerie nationale (Collection d'ouvrages orientaux; Seconde serie); reprint: Tokyo [2]1977: Meicho-Fukyu-kai.

Prasannapadā = *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (Mādhyamikasūtra) de Nāgārjuna avec la Prasannapadā Commentaire de Candrakīrti*, ed. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, St. Petersburg, 1903-10 (Bibliotheca Buddhica IV).

PTSD = Rhys Davids, T.W. & W.Stede, eds., *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London, 1921-25.

PvsP = *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*: IV, ed. Takayasu Kimura, Tokyo 1990: Sankibo Busshorin.

PW = Otto Böhtlingk, Rudolph Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, 7 Bde., St. Petersburg 1855-1875.

Renou Gr. = Louis Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, 2. ed. rev., corr. et augm., Paris 1975 : A. Maisonneuve (Librairie d' Amérique et d'Orient).

RgsGr = Akira Yuyama, *A Grammar of the Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā (Sanskrit Recension A)*, Canberra 1973 : Faculty of Asian Studies in association with Australian National University Press (Oriental Monograph Series 14).

RkP = *Ratnaketuparivarta : Sanskrit Text*, ed. and annotated by Y. Kurumiya, Kyoto 1978 : Heirakuji-Shoten.

Rm-av = *Ratnamālāvadāna : A Garland of Precious Gems or a Collection of Edifying Tales, Told in a Metrical Form, Belonging to the Mahāyana*, ed. Kanga Takahata, Tokyo : Toyo Bunko, 1954 (Oriental Library Series D, 3).

SBV = *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*, ed. Raniero Gnoli, 2 parts, Roma 1978 (SOR 49/1-2).

Śikṣ = *Śikṣāsamuccaya : A Compendium of Buddhistic Teaching, Compiled by Śāntideva*, edited by Cecil Bendall, St. Petersbourg 1902: Académie imperiale des sciences; Reprint Tokyo 1977: Meicho-Fukyu-kai (Bibliotheca Buddhica 1).

SMS = *Sanskrit Manuscripts of Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* 梵文法華経写本集成. *Collected from Nepal, Kashmir and Central Asia*, comp. by Institute for the Comprehensive Study of the Lotus Sutra, Rissho University 立正大学法華経文化研究所, Tokyo (Publishing Association of Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Manuscripts 梵文法華経研究会), 12 vols., 1977-1982.

SP = *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*

SP(F) = the Sanskrit Manuscripts of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, discovered in Farhād-Bēg, romanised in Toda 1981: 229-258.

SP(H) = Readings of the Central Asian Manuscript fragments of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, romanized in Toda 1981: 261-320.

SP(K') = MS. of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* kept in the Tōyō Bunko(東洋文庫), Tokyo (brought from Tibet by Rev. E. Kawaguchi 河口慧海). Facsimile edition: SMS; transliteration: Toda 1980-85.

SP(KN) = *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, ed. H. Kern, B. Nanjio, St.Petersburg 1908-1912 (Bibliotheca Buddhica 10).

SP(O) = the so-called Kashgar manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, actually found in Khādaliq but purchased in Kashgar. Facsimile edition: Lokesh Candra 1976; transliteration: Toda 1981: 3-225.

SP(Pk) = MS. of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, formerly kept in the Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities (民族文化宫图书馆), Beijing. A photographic edition: Mínzú-wénhuàgōng 1984; transliteration: Jiang 1988; Toda 1989-1991.

SP(W) = Shōkō Watanabe, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Manuscripts Found in Gilgit*, ed. and annotated; pt. 2 romanized text, Tokyo 1972-1975: The Reiyukai.

SP(Wi) = Klaus Wille, *Fragments of a Manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra from Khādaliq*, Tokyo 2000: Soka Gakkai (Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 3).

Tufan MS. = A fragment of the KP in the Turfan Collection: Sander / Waldschmidt 1980, No. 374.

Vibh-a(trans.) = *The Dispeller of Delusion (Sammohavinodanī)*, translated from the Pali by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, revised for publication by L. S. Cousins, Nyanaponika Mahāthera and C. M. M. Shaw, London (PTS) 1987-1991, 2 vols.

vs = verse

~ = stem of a word, e.g. *dharma~*.

° = except for letters, following or preceding the sign, the word is the same as the preceding one.

$\alpha < \beta$ = the form α comes from β

$\alpha \in \beta$: α is a scribal error, a corruption, or a hyperform of β

LIST OF WORKS QUOTED IN THIS PAPER

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